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156 The classification of people according to the ideology they profess is one of the underlying principles governing the activities of Communist-sponsored organizations where membership cuts across class lines. The New Democratic Youth Corps, the Federation of Democratic Youth, the Young Pioneers, the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association, the Democratic Women's Federation, the labor unions, and the study circles at schools and in factories help to disseminate Communist ideology.

Participation in these mass organizations, whether voluntary or compulsory, serves to separate the individual from his family, absorbing his time and energy outside the family circle. Enforcement of the Marriage Law, principally through the promotion and supervision of the Democratic Women's Federation, encourages women to leave the confines of the family. The recruitment of candidates for institutions of high learning and the assignment of jobs to graduates when they have completed their education also serve to uproot the individual from his immediate environment and make him dependent for advancement on the Communist regime. The weakening of family loyalty forces the individual to look toward the mass organizations sponsored by the Communists, who regard the Party itself as a desirable substitute for the traditional social structure. Since the

668
156

individual relies on mass organizations for political advancement, which is the prerequisite for economic and social betterment, the mass organizations are most important for the stabilization of society under the current regime. The regime exercises the power to control the career expectancies of the members of mass organizations, reward the achievement of those who work for the goals of the Party leadership, and punish with ostracism or more severe penalties those who rebel against the order. For the first time since the abolition of the imperial examination system, a main channel of social advancement has emerged. The mastery of an officially approved body of doctrine is the quickest road to social advancement. The Communist channel of social advancement leads to the selection of conformists. This state of affairs resembles, to some extent, that which prevailed in monarchical times when the mastery of dogmas contained in the classics and their commentaries was the prerequisite to success in the imperial examinations.

668
178

The Communist regime has found it necessary to promote as replacements for the old ruling group Communist-reformed and Communist-trained administrative, technical, and scientific personnel. Compared with traditional social mobility, the new social mobility does not spring from ideals embodied in Chinese culture but from expedient manipulation by the Communist Party.

527 played on the bridegroom, traditional songs were sung and the guests, particularly the men, thoroughly enjoyed themselves. The births of male children were often celebrated as were the betrothals, and the like. In modern times the government of the Republic of China decreed certain national holidays but these were little observed by the farm villages.

217 In addition to these occasions for relaxation, there were activities which interested some of the villagers and helped to vary their lives. Itinerant dramatic troupes occasionally performed, and until very recently the storyteller spinning out his tales to the villagers was often seen. The election of a headman for the village often involved political maneuvering and a town meeting. Pilgrimages to famous mountains or shrines were often undertaken in the slack agricultural season for religious reasons or purely for relaxation. Perhaps the most universal recreation was as in all illiterate communities gossip and desultory conversation about the weather, the crops, the iniquity of the government, local disputes, and on their rare occurrence, lawsuits involving fellow villagers. Despite the grim struggle for survival the average villager tended to be cheerful, self-respecting with a robust sense of humor. He went through life with a continuous concern for his own "face" or prestige among his fellows and with the strong determination that, despite all, the fortunes of his family might steadily improve.

B. The Pattern of Urban Life

369 Urban life, although it meant a different pattern of work, was closely akin to life in the

AF15

668
527 have been revived, and the poet Ch'ü Yuan, now a "People's hero" martyred in protest against a corrupt feudal regime, "is the focus of celebrations." ²⁷ The moon festival in autumn is also celebrated with extra food allowances and "cultural" activities. The various anniversaries of the Chinese Communist and of the World Communist movement probably do not break into the agricultural working year but they may be the occasion for special propaganda arranged by the local cadre. It will be seen that the pattern of living in the villages has been drastically altered: what remains of the old pattern is precisely what the government and the Party permits in the interests of morale or adapts in the interests of their rural program of change and indoctrination.

668 156 III. CHANGING PATTERNS OF LIVING

In the town and cities as in the countryside, the greatest changes in living patterns have been brought about by the network of new associations by which the regime envelops and controls the individual. Workers in various traditional crafts, merchants industrial workers, are all organized by the Party, and it is within these groups, under the guidance of cadres, that the urban working population is most strenuously indoctrinated. In long and frequent meetings, the city dweller is under intense pressure to manifest "correct attitudes," to show himself free of all "feudal" and "bourgeois" taint, and to demonstrate his complete commitment to Communist goals.

27 SCMP, 1075, June 23, 1955, p. 25.

AF15

668
156 Through these and other channels he is under continual pressure to step up his efficiency and productivity. The meetings take such a toll of his energy at the end of the working day that they are openly referred to as "fatigue meetings."²⁸

City and town dwellers are also organized into street and ward units, and through these they are given further directives on the management of their lives.²⁹ The townsman more than the peasant, is open to an "around the clock" propaganda barrage. From the first call to early morning calisthenics, the radio blares in every street until late at night. There is pressure to join sports groups, study groups -- all with their ideological purposes. The major Communist holidays are celebrated in the cities with great parades and with endless speeches. Privacy, the chance to be at ease with family or friends, are both rare.

668
527 The New Year's holiday has some of its old gaiety, although within the same restrictions imposed on the peasant. The cities receive special shipments of seasonal delicacies, as they appear to do at the mid-Autumn and Dragon Boat Festivals, and trips back to the family village may be possible for a minority of the urban population.³⁰ New Year's activities in East China

28. Rostow, op. cit. p. 160.

29. "Urban Organizations." Current Background 310, Jan. 17 1955. "Regulations of--"

30. [See following page.]

AF15

812
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This is the basic principle: utter subordination of the individual to the Party. But when we examine some of the personal qualities which the Communists want, we find them linked in many ways to Chinese tradition. The good Communist is "able to love others and hate others." (A phrase from the Analects of Confucius); that is, he never injures his comrades for his own benefit, but fights vigorously the enemies of the revolution. Toward his comrades his attitude is one of "genuineness and sympathy." (Analects) He does "nothing to others that he would not have done to himself." (Analects) He "grieves before all the rest of the world grieves and is happy only after all the rest of the world is happy." (Buddhist ideal of the Bodhisattva-savior, adapted by an eleventh century Confucian thinker.) He "has no individual apprehensions or private desires to obscure and pervert his investigation of things and understanding of true principles," (a restatement of the late Confucian view of purity of mind as being necessary for true knowledge.)³⁸

[36. continued] University, 1954, p. 15. Nivison's study will appear in symposium Thought and Officialdom in China, University of Chicago Press, early in 1956.

37. Liu Shao-ch'i "On the Training of the Communist Party Member," in Compton, op.cit., p. 110. Nivison, op. cit., p. 18, points out that this prescription is close to classic descriptions of traditional virtue of chung -- absolute loyalty to superiors.

38. These characterizations are all from the authoritative treatise by Liu Shao-ch'i, ibid., translated in Compton, op.cit., pp. 108-55. Traditional sources are identified by Nivison, op.cit., pp. 19-20.

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156

To attain these and other "good" qualities, the Communist, like his Confucian ancestors, is to pattern his character after approved models and to subject himself to intensive self-cultivation. In traditional China, the models of character and behavior found in the classics and histories were to be studied and followed by individuals who manifested a particular virtue, filial piety, for example, were required reading. Now the Communists set up Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao as personal models; everyone is capable of attaining the great qualities of these revolutionary geniuses if he tries.³⁹ Even selected heroes from China's "feudal" past are recommended as models.⁴⁰ Such models are presented in fiction, in textbooks, in newspapers, and young and old are urged to emulate these heroes. In addition, "model" workers, farmers, soldiers are feted and publicized, and their pictures and idealized biographies appear in all propaganda media.

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Self-cultivation consists of being unremittingly conscious of one's faults and of Communist ideals, of being ever alert, in study and action, to the recrudescence of "bad" attitudes which are the residue of one's pre-Communist education. Liu Shao-ch'i stresses the development consciousness in the individual; through consciousness one is free from the determining forces of history and

39. Liu Shao ch'i, op.cit., quoted in Nivison, p. 16.

40. Ch'en Sang, "Tang-hsing Yu Ssu Cheng-huo," [Party Nature and Private Life], in Lun Tang Yu Ko-jen [On the Party and the Individual] by Chen Po-ta and others, Hong Kong reprint, 1948, p. 3, cited in Nivison, op.cit., p. 76, note 16.

156 environment and becomes capable of working cre-
812 atively for the aims of the new society. This em-
phasis on consciousness is connected with both
traditional ethics and Soviet psychology. On the
one hand, it has "an obvious affinity to the Neo-Con-
fucian notion of cultivation as freeing the individual
from the tyranny of blind habit and unconscious
selfish motivations."⁴¹ On the other hand, it reflects
the recent development of Soviet psychology; from
an earlier denunciation of consciousness as "smack-
ing of bourgeois idealism" the Russians have come
to the view that "consciousness is a central process⁴²
in making man capable of forging his own destinies."

155 The list of bad qualities denounced by Com-
munism is long; liberalism, formalism, bureau-
cratism, opportunism, and a dozen others are
being continually denounced. How does one rid
onself of these vices? The following formula, here
used against the vice of individualism, is typical:

"The methods transmitted by the ancients
for raising oneself out of the vulgar state
and entering sagehood, becoming a Buddha
or a Taoist spirit, all required one to go
through a long period discipline. If we
want to shed the early form of individual-
ism and acquire a spiritual form of collec-
tivism, we must cultivate and discipline
ourselves over and over;...we should
continually ask ourselves this question:
'Am I or am I not still guilty of individualism?'
If we have a thought, utter a sentence, walk
a step or do a thing, we should listen for

41. Cf. Nivison, op.cit., p. 15.

42. [next page]

AF15

829 instruction. The son was to submit unquestioningly to his father's will at all times. He had no independence of judgment or action until after his father's death. The son's loyalty and devotion were also to show themselves in providing for the father's comfort in old age, in arranging a proper funeral and burial, and in periodic offerings to his father's tablet in the ancestral hall of the family.

In the political sphere the emperor was the "father" of his people, and the key local magistrates of the imperial bureaucracy were often referred to as the "Fathers and Mothers of the People." To reciprocate the care and concern of those in authority, the people were to provide material support through taxes and labor; they were to serve their masters loyally and submissively; they were to obey the rules which custom (personalized as the wise rulers of the past) and the laws laid down for them. And in those laws the heaviest punishments were decreed for those who showed unfilial behavior in the family, or, in its political counterpart, rebellion against the state.⁴⁹

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156 These were the patterns of authority to which the individual was subject. His personality

49. The Classic of Filial Piety says: "Of the 3,000 crimes punishable by the five punishments, none is greater than unfiliality." (i.e., failure to submit to authority.) For a discussion, cf. Etienne Balazs, Le Traite Juridique de Souei-chou, Paris, 1954, p. 144.

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593 was formed within the family, his status in
156 society was determined by his family's status.
To understand the individual of traditional China,
we must see him within this setting; to understand
the changes being wrought by the Communists, we
must take into account some of the tensions and
dissatisfactions which the family system -- par-
ticularly in its period of decay -- set up in the
individual.

The role of the individual was determined by
his position in the family, and he was taught to fill
that particular role. For example, an older broth-
er was responsible for his younger brother, and
was taught to be nice in play to those younger in
years. The younger sons were expected to be less
sober and responsible; their mothers often spoiled
them. Throughout all the complex relations of the
family, roles were assigned and the individual's
life and character were formed by the role he
played. Freedom of choice and freedom to develop
individuality were thus rigidly limited.⁵⁰

The well-being of the family group was the
individual's prime concern. He was committed
to work which would assure the family's prosperity
he was obliged to protect the family's reputation,
for example, by paying off the gambling debts of
a family member rather than have the family dis-
graced; to continue to live in a tense and unhappy
household rather than to break away and thereby
weaken the family's solidarity.

50. Bunzel-Weakland, pp. 47-64.

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In exchange for his submission to authority and discipline in every phase of his personal life, the individual was given the basic necessities of life and the help of the family's influence in obtaining jobs, and in obtaining a bride, etc. Nepotism was sanctioned by the classics, and family members benefited when one of them rose to wealth or power.

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The only social relationship which an individual could enjoy with less family interference was friendship, which was the most cherished thing in life. Many a Chinese poet has dealt with this theme. Popular novels and dramas have treated it with vividness and force. Friendship has the overtones of the elder-brother, younger-brother relationship. As John Weakland has observed, this type of relationship between individuals, self-elected, with virtual equality between the participants, is a refuge from the father-dominated, rigid hierarchy of the family.⁵¹

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The two patterns -- paternal domination and fraternal association -- are reflected in political life. Established governmental authority is of the paternal type; everyone is subject to the will of the emperor-father. But dissident movements are organized on the basis of the brotherly friendship pattern; the romantic rebels of Chinese novels, the organization of bandit gangs, the leadership of rebel armies are all bound together by ties of friendship and blood brotherhood.

178

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When the old social order began to break up under the impact of modern forces, the family

51. Ibid., pp. 137-47

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178 system was undermined and began slowly to dis-
596 integrate. Chinese critics held that the old family
stifled individuality, prevented the development of
individual initiative vital to modern China, and
that it was a breeding ground for authoritarianism
hindering the development of democratic citizen-
ship. They also felt that a new kind of individual
was needed, and that the family system prevented
its birth. 52.

- 156 The Communists are developing a new image
of the individual and a new relationship between the
individual and authority, doing this they are using
certain of the old family ideas and, capitalizing
on dissatisfaction with the old family system, they
are releasing the individual from his bonds and
pushing him into a new system of human relations.

The Communists have paid particular attention to the groups which suffered most under the old family: women, particularly younger women, such as daughters-in-law, and adolescents. Bitter denunciations of the tyranny of the old family system by dramatizing its inequities, insistence on the individual's loyalty to the Party rather than to the family -- all these are being resorted to in order to create new individuals suited to the needs of a Communist society. In Communist literature this new type of individual, free of the family and its "feudal" relationships, is presented as having boundless opportunities for self-development. Stories of young "heroes" who have broken away --

52. Cf. Theodore Chen, "New China, New Texts," Current History, No. 19, 1950, p. 325.

- 156 sometimes denouncing their "reactionary" fathers and gone on to make striking contributions to state and society are glorified in almost every publication.

"Comradeship," the brother-friend type of relationship, is strongly emphasized in Party and other organizations. During the long years of their suppression, the Communist leadership was bound together by "comradeship," which is continually romanticized and extolled in textbooks and other writings. This pattern of human relationships is built on an age-old Chinese ideal and is most attractive to those who suffered most under the old family system. It is used to encourage cooperation between individuals in a common task. In the textbooks it is fostered by moral tales -- a pail of water is too heavy for Little Brother and too heavy for Big Brother, but it is easily carried by the two; a lone tree is easily shaken by the wind but many trees standing together can withstand a heavy wind.⁵³

829 The brother-friendship pattern among top Communist leadership has subtly shifted, and Mao and the Party have begun to exercise paternal authority over subordinates, and the people as a whole. Mao has taken on many of the attributes of the supreme patriarchal emperors of old; his paternal guidance is praised in these lines from an officially published song:

53. Ibid.

596 one looks to state and Party health agencies, but responsibility for the care of the aged devolves upon the children of the conjugal family.⁶¹ The family's function as an administrative unit for mutual surveillance and responsibility is now eliminated, and each citizen is responsible to the state. Family connections are no longer a means of getting jobs; they are assigned to individuals by state and Party organizations. In this way the Communists undermine what is left of the old family and strike at the age-old evil of nepotism.

156 Yet, with the shattering of the old family and the assumption of its functions by the state, the individual is still urged by the leadership to work in a disciplined and co-operative way for the larger social group. The following prescription for individual behavior recalls the formulas for the activity of good members of the traditional family.

Citizen of the People's Republic are expected to engage in labor and productive activities and to place the common good above personal benefit. They must learn to be helpful and co-operative. They must work hard and submit willingly to the discipline of group life. They must always be ready to learn to accept criticism for the purpose of improvement.⁶²

61. Cf. Survey of China Mainland Press, No. 973, Jan. 21, 1955, pp. 31-32; "...when parents are counterrevolutionaries, the child should treat them as enemies."

62. Cf. Theodore Chen, op.cit., p. 324, and Weakland-Bunzel, pp. 153-54.

• 156 It would appear, then, that the Communist government tries to adapt both patterns of individual-group relationship to its purposes. On the one hand it encourages the equal co-operation pattern associated with the old image of brotherhood and friendship. On the other hand it increasingly subjects each individual to a type of authority that is reminiscent of the old all-powerful father of the family. For certain types of work, for example team projects carried on by Party cadres, the former may be encouraged as the efficient pattern. But for the masses of the population, submission of the individual to the group is the ordained pattern.

E. Face

554 In traditional China, "face" meant one's moral reputation (lien) and one's accumulated moral and material prestige in the eyes of the community (mein-tzu). One's lien, or moral reputation, was solidified by adherence to the ethical forms of society in all human dealings. One's mien-tzu could be increased by making contacts, by acts of conspicuous generosity, but this could be done only within the role which society

63. Cf. Hsien-chin Hu, "The Chinese Concepts of Face," American Anthropologist, Volume 46, (1944), pp. 45-64. The word lien is more current in North China than in the Yangtze Valley and the south. In the lower Yangtze Valley, according to Miss Hu (p. 46, note 5), mien-k'ung is used for lien.